September 10c

Equality

THE AMERICAN WAY ★ EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER
SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS
HON. VITO MARCANTONIO
JOHN L. LEWIS

tell how to:

Keep America out of War
Defend America
Keep America Democratic

Articles by
DR. CHARLES OBERMAYER
JEAN HORIE • GORDON BROOKS
WALTER FREEMAN

A Message to America

Conscription of youth and man power for war in times of peace is directly opposed to Christian principles and democratic government.

Conscription is more than a step; it is a huge stride towards the establishment of dictatorship in the United States and towards involvement of the nation in a world war—a war either in Europe, the Far East or Latin America.

To fight conscription, the American people have risen to organize a great peace crusade. They will not stand idly by and tolerate the suppression of civil liberties, religious freedom and our traditional democratic processes.

The church congregations of America have raised their voices with the voice of American labor, the farmers, the youth, the Negro people and the unemployed in a mighty "No" to the question of conscription. They speak through the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War and its Emergency Peace Mobilization, to be held at the Chicago Stadium, Chicago, August 31, September 1 and 2.

Sincerely yours,

REV. JOHN B. THOMPSON
Chairman, Southern Conference on Human Welfare
Chairman, Committee to Defend America
By Keeping Out of War

●

EQUALITY

extends its sincere and cordial greetings to the thousands of representatives of labor, the churches, youth and peace groups who are meeting in Chicago from August 31 to September 2 under the auspices of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, with the hope that from this mass rally will spring a powerful and united people's peace movement.

About this issue . .

At a time when peace and conscription have become the all-important issues of the day, EQUALITY is pleased to print the splendid articles which were sent to us by Senators, Representatives, labor leaders, youth groups and church organizations. These articles speak well for themselves, and in their entirety they represent one of the most complete composite surveys which has ever been gathered on the questions involved.

The outstanding men who have contributed their views are conducting a great struggle. The opposition which they face—opposition of the war camp, the scandalously unfair boycott being conducted by the press—is tremendous; and it is a fitting commentary on the quality and character of these people that they are carrying on their fight despite the innumerable obstacles which have been placed in their way.

SENATORS WHEELER AND NORRIS need no introduction. Neither does VITO MARCANTONIO, the scrappy Congressman from New York's slums. JOHN L. LEWIS, with the enthusiastic support of labor in all parts of the country, has given every minute of his time during the past few months to fighting any attempts which might be made—and there have been many—to sacrifice American working people to the uncontrolled war drive.

The attitude of American youth on conscription is clearly and ably expressed by young JEAN HORIE, executive secretary of the New York Council of the American Youth Congress. Miss Horie's article is one of the clearest statements of youth's position we have ever seen.

GORDON BROOKS is a young free-lance writer in New York. His article makes clear the fact that there is a powerful movement within the churches of all denominations against war, conscription, and the hysterical "preparedness" program.

DR. CHARLES OBERMAYER returned from Havana several weeks ago. One of the editors of EQUALITY was privileged to attend a press conference which Dr. Obermayer held on his return, and was so impressed that he asked him to write an article on the Havana Conference for this issue. Dr. Obermayer's analysis has not, we feel, been equaled by anything that has been written on the subject.

A reply to the vicious slander that the Jewish people want war is contained in JEWS AGAINST WAR, a collection of statements by Jewish leaders.

WALTER FREEMAN is a free-lance writer who has traveled extensively. His article on France was inspired by the deluge of false propaganda stories which have been coming from that country.

Our "guest" artist for this issue is a talented young man named WALTER PARTYMILLER. He hails from the west, and has had his excellent drawings published in numerous publications from coast to coast.

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Equality

An Independent, Non-Sectarian Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Racial and Religious Intolerance

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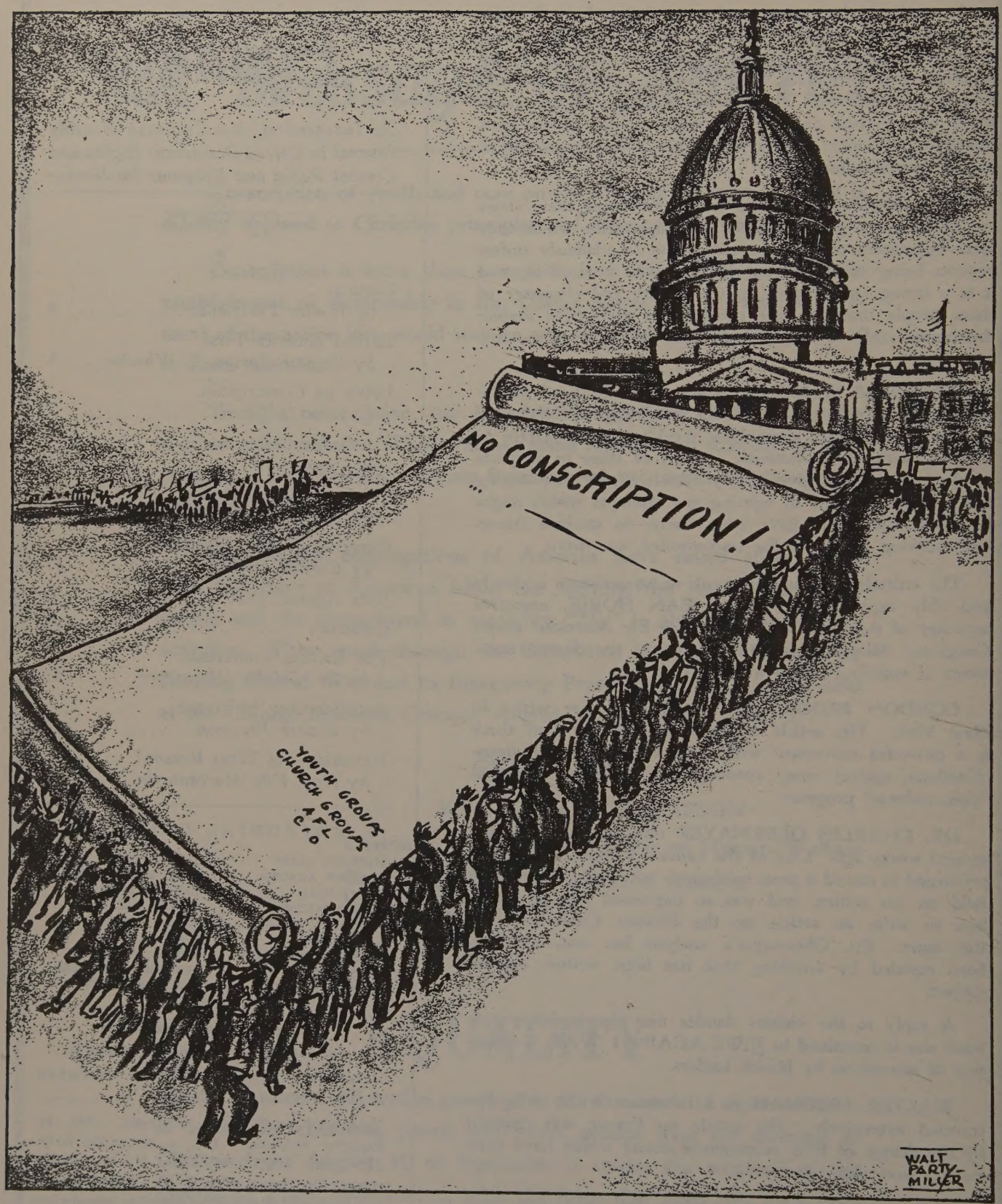

THE PEOPLE GO TO WASHINGTON

DEFEND AMERICA FIRST

By Senator Burton K. Wheeler

Member of Senate Anti-Draft Bloc Clarifies the Defense Issue

A TRULY adequate national defense is dependent on more than armed might. Selfish economic and political forces can menace democracy and its institutions with just as devastating a power as the armed might of totalitarian powers 3,000 miles away from us. We have come a long way in seven years in extending the borders of social and economic justice. Yet today, we still have ten million jobless workers, distressed farmers buying at retail and selling at wholesale, a steadily growing class of landless tenants who have become nomads roaming the land in search of a livelihood. These modern day serfs are augmented each year by 600,000 young people, eager, alive, fresh from our vaunted educational system, but destined to join the great army of economic-underprivileged. It is the economic plight of these American men and women that constitutes a more real danger to the security of our country and our form of government than any real or fancied fifth column.

Democracy at Home

Politicians prate about democracy, but democracy is an empty word to men and women who lack food, clothing and shelter. These people will follow the demogogue who promises a job and a full stomach. Making democracy work for that one-third of our people who are "ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed" remains a more pressing and important job than attempting to police the world and impose democracy by force of arms on peoples who have been taught that democracy and unemployment are synonyms.

In a world gone mad, in a world where the nations with the most guns and bombs and tanks and aircraft impose their will on less powerful neighbors, it would be sheer folly to sit idly by unprepared and defenseless. In this field too, we have made progress, great progress. But in achieving the objective of making ourselves impregnable to foreign attack we must exercise the greatest caution that in our effort to oppose totalitarian ideologies we do not ourselves take on all the habiliments of these hated foreign systems!

It is time that veiled insinuations and half-truths about our vulnerability and our dependence on other powers were torn aside. Consider this—there is not a first rate military or naval expert, here or abroad, who will say that this country, or even the western hemisphere, can be successfully invaded from a military standpoint by any power or combination of powers who have to bring their troops across 3,000 miles of the Atlantic or 5,000 miles of the Pacific. Scare stories of the Nazi invasions via South America by newspaper columnists whose knowledge of military matters is picked up over a cocktail ought to leave sensible Americans cold. There is scarcely shipping enough left in the world to bring over an invading army of half a million men to hostile territory. Or where is the fleet of 50,000 airplanes that would be needed, not to speak of the supplies and materials of war which must accompany such an invading army? Military men haven't forgotten the tragic experience of the Allies in their vain attempt to land troops at Gallipoli in the First World War. And what was the result of Britain's effort to land men in Norway—a land only recently occupied by the enemy? Is the holocaust at Dunkerque so readily forgotten—imagine an invasion in the hail of death and destruction that was showered on the poor devils evacuated from that port! These are the grim realities—the facts of war—not distorted imaginings by arm chair strategists who pilot bombers with a pencil over a map.

It is well to remind Americans that their first loyalty and duty is to their own country. In

one week, as if by pre-arrangement, newspaper columns and radio commentators bombard us with pleas to give some of our naval vessels to Britain. This is hyphenated Americanism. The advocates of such a course ignore the fact that this is an act of war.

And Now - - Conscription

If I say that conscription is violative of every constitutional provision and precept—that it is the most dangerous step ever taken against fundamental American liberties—that it may well mean the beginning of the end of the American economic and social system—that in its wake lies military dictatorship—I do not exaggerate. It will merely be said in answer that times have changed, that modern conditions require it, that it is no longer important that the country was founded on the idea that compulsory military service in peace times is a part of hated old world slavery from which our fathers fled in horror. It will even be said that those who oppose peace time conscription are traitors—and worse!

Have those who so boldly advocate peace time conscription thought of the economic consequences of large scale compulsory military training? The average citizen has heard that there is a world crisis, that to meet this crisis we must raise a great army which he believes can be dissolved when the crisis is past. He does not know that to raise a huge peace time army we are sowing the wind and will reap the whirlwind. Huge armies can not be returned to civil life with the snap of a finger.

The Administration plans an army of 1,200,000 men, which with the regular army will total nearly two million men. To maintain such a force will cost a billion dollars a year and it will take another million men to supply the army with guns, clothes, munitions, trucks, barracks and all the things that will be needed—all costing more billions. A new industry will have been firmly established—a national defense industry! And what is going to happen when somebody later on proposes to disestablish this industry which is providing a livelihood for two or three million men and represents billions of dollars of annual income? Why, it will mean throwing millions of men out of work, it will mean pulling a prop out of this new economic system which we will have built up—a military machine will have become the most important support of our whole economic system and despite heavy taxes and a growing debt burden, it will be easier to go on with the prop under the system than with it out.

If peace time conscription were the only answer to our problem it would have encountered little opposition. Cold, hard, common sense does not get far when United States Senators stand on the floor of the chamber and tell us that Hitler will soon invade our land!

Facts vs. Fury

Of what use, therefore, to point out that the American people have not been given a chance to rally in support of their government. Americans are not professional soldiers, few want to make the army or navy a life career. Yet, in this emergency which we hear so much about we still want men to sign away three years of their life for army duty and six years for naval service. Tell the American people that we need a million men for a year because we want to protect America and watch the response!

If someone calls attention that our neighbor Canada, though actually at war for months, is only now resorting to conscription and even then with the restriction that conscripts will not serve outside their homeland, that is brushed aside as irrelevant. If another points out that only a few weeks ago our highest military authorities agreed that a well-trained, efficiently mechanized striking force of 375,000 was all the Army America could use in defense of this hemisphere, we hear that conditions have changed in three weeks. If it is suggested that even without the conscript army, the United States will soon have in the field an army of more than 800,000 men made up of regular troops, national guard and organized reserves, we are told that more men are needed. If it is asked when will we have the guns, the munitions and even the clothes for a million men, if we want to know if men will be thrown into tent camps in the winter months ahead, these questions are deemed impertinent and even traitorous.

None of these things is of consequence as America marches down the road, not alone to war, but to militarism and the end of a political system for which our forbears have spilled blood and treasure for one hundred and fifty years.

LABOR ON CONSCRIPTION

By John L. Lewis

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has pledged its full support to a program for meeting the needs of national defense of this country. However, we are firmly of the opinion that national defense does not and must not be based upon the destruction or curtailment of our basic democratic institutions.

Compulsory conscription in time of peace involves a very definite departure from the basic principles of the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. Compulsory conscription would necessarily result in tremendous dislocations among the lives of millions of individuals in industry and in communities throughout our country. Basic civil liberties, including freedom of speech and freedom of press, and freedom of individual initiative and enterprise, would be seriously threatened.

Consideration of national defense cannot be restricted to the needs of our armed forces. The problems of unemployment, security for our elder citizens, the health needs of our lower income groups, and the preservation of civil liberties are of equal importance in our struggle to maintain our democracy.

To this end, the Congress of Industrial Organizations suggests that if there is a need for larger personnel in our armed forces, the method of voluntary enlistments be continued and relied upon to meet the needs of the present emergency.

Furthermore, Congress should give immediate and urgent thought to legislative measures to meet the problems which are creating insecurity, ill-health and unemployment for millions of our citizens in this nation. Failure to do so, with concentration solely upon national defense through increased armed forces, would, under the guise of national defense, destroy the very institutions and principles which are so dear to the people of this nation.

YOUTH WANTS PEACE

By Jean Horie

Exec. Sec., N. Y. Youth Congress

The Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill has aroused tremendous opposition among young people throughout the land. Young men and women in schools, shops, settlement houses, farms, and unorganized youth on street corners, have flooded Congress with letters and post-cards urging defeat of conscription. They have gone to Washington by automobile, bus, train, plane, hitch-hiking, to visit their representatives and demand that the draft be defeated. They are coming in large numbers to the Emergency Peace Mobilization, to be held in Chicago, Illinois over the weekend of August 31 - September 2 because they believe that the Emergency Peace Mobilization can organize a great national movement to defeat conscription and keep America out of war.

American young people are determined to defeat conscription because we believe that it is proposed as a step to draw America into an aggressive war to enlarge the profits of Wall Street. We are for a *real* program of national defense. We want to keep our country's democratic institutions alive; we don't want Hitlerism here. We're proud of the American way of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage; the right to worship as we please, to vote as we choose, to organize into labor unions and bargain collectively; we want to extend democracy to the Negro people by wiping out lynch rule and the poll tax. We want to protect all minorities from persecution. We're willing to give our lives, if need be, to defend our democracy.

By pushing through the National Guard Bill, defeating an amendment specifying that the armed forces be used only on American soil, the warmakers revealed that they are preparing, not for defense but for aggression. Conscription is the final step to bind and gag the people of America to draw us into a war to enslave other peoples, to secure profits for a few.

The administration, and all those who are preparing for war, have turned their backs upon youth's need for jobs; the unemployed youth of America need peace-time jobs and training at trade union standards. They can secure these needs through passage of the American Youth Act. Millions of jobs are waiting to be done—building houses to wipe out the slums; developing a real health program for the nation; building swimming pools and playgrounds for the millions who lack recreation facilities. The welfare of the people of America is our first line of defense.

Democracy must be defended right here at home now! No invasion threatens more directly than the invasion which the administration in Washington has carried out against the rights of the people of America. For the Negro citizens, the lynch mob still spreads terror; it can be stopped by passage of the anti-lynch bill. No vote is the rule for the poor whites and Negroes of the south. Passage of the Geyer anti-poll tax bill will extend the right to vote to millions of disenfranchised citizens. Attacks upon trade unions and political minorities are undermining American rights for all; they must be stopped. The war upon our foreign-born, denying their rights as citizens, must be halted by repeal of the anti-alien bills. Those who are trying to push the conscription bill through are the very ones who are trying to destroy American liberties day by day, preparing the way for Hitlerizing America.

American youth are jobless, American liberties are undermined, in preparation for aggressive war. The youth of America want peace, the best defense for our country. We can stop the preparations for war by united action. *now.* IT IS NOT TOO LATE. CONSCRIPTION CAN BE STOPPED IF THE TREMENDOUS WAVE OF PROTEST TO CONGRESS IS CONTINUED AND INCREASED. Youth throughout the land are determined that conscription will be defeated.

I OPPOSE REGIMENTATION

By Senator George W. Norris

I AM opposed to the Compulsory Training Bill and expect to vote against it.

I realize we are confronted at present with world conditions that make a logical argument in favor of the bill, so I realize the question has two sides. I am not questioning in any way the conscientiousness or good faith of those who favor the bill, but I do not believe we are confronted with conditions of such imminent danger as to justify changing the established policy of our Government on this question. During all the years of our history, it has been unnecessary to do anything of this kind, and to start in now, at the enormous expense that would be entailed and when, as I see it, there is no proper justification for it, would be both unwise and illogical. We are not surrounded, as were Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, nations which could be confronted almost on a moment's notice with an army of invasion. Before any nation of Europe could prepare to invade the United States, we would have ample time to prepare and to train a large army, without its being necessary to prepare years in advance. I am speaking now of an army of military men fighting on the ground. It does not apply to the air forces or to the navy, for instance, which would engage the enemy long before there would be any attempt to land troops on our shores. Before an invasion could be attempted, our navy and our air force would have to be practically destroyed.

The only possibility of the success of an invading army at the present time or even in the near future, would be if Hitler succeeded in conquering England and securing the British navy. By uniting this with his own and with such of the French navy as Germany might control, added to that of Italy and possibly that of Japan, an attempt might be made to land an invading army. Even that could not possibly succeed, and no sane man, in fact, would attempt it, until after both the air and the naval forces of the United States had been destroyed. To begin with, we would have a standing army of several hundred thousand troops. Our standing army of 280,000 has recently been increased to 375,000, and that would be a nucleus for the commencement of the training of a greater army for defense.

The Cost of Regimentation

To compel our young men to serve in the army in time of peace is to me abhorrent. I do not see the necessity or the reason for it. It is contrary to our history, and, in my opinion, the burden of it would be not only unnecessary, but its enormous annual expense would be so great our people would not sustain such a move. If we were a weak nation, surrounded as the smaller nations of Europe have been, by strong nations with great standing armies and military equipment, the case would be different. Moreover, the continuation of a policy of compulsory military training would gradually change our nation and the attitude of our people. To a very great extent, they would be drawn gradually but inevitably from their peace loving ways into those of a nation whose chief object would be to destroy other nations.

The military attitude, for instance, of the people of Germany, where they have had compulsory military training for many, many years, is an illustration of this fact. In that country, men and women are born into an environment of pride in a large, well-equipped, standing army, comprising practically all of the citizenry of the country. Born into such a heritage, the first thing the child sees is uniformed men. The ordinary civilian looks upon the military system as a natural condition, because he knows no other. The soldier in uniform becomes the ideal of the little child in the street. Gradually, as he grows older, he learns to get off the sidewalk when the soldier in uniform goes by. The highest ambition of all the people would be to train a great army to kill and murder. We, however, have grown up in a different environment. We

do not look upon a large standing army or the training of a great body of men as a necessity for our happiness, but if our young men are to be compelled to spend a goodly portion of every year in a military training camp, it would have an effect upon their natures, and, if such a program were carried on for 50 years, the rising generation would know no other ideal except that of military force. We do not live in such an atmosphere, and I pray God we never shall.

Conscription, Then War

In addition, I believe an army of millions of men, supported by a large part of the people, in order that they may wear fine uniforms and devote their entire time, energies, ambitions, and abilities to military tactics, would mean in the end that we would get into war. It is but natural in such a case that we would disregard and eventually forget the finer instincts of humanity that make men and women peaceful and peace-loving, that cause them to love their fellow men, even those of other nations. The result would be, we would have a great class of citizens who instead of being peaceful citizens, pursuing the ways of peace would be armed to the teeth, ready to quarrel or fight at the drop of the hat, and continually we would be at war somewhere, with somebody. Our international troubles and difficulties would be greatly increased, if the majority of our people were armed soldiers. It is true with a nation as it is with men. We would become a bully upon the international field, not only willing to fight, but hunting for a fight. We would be continually finding fault with everybody and everything. Our nation, figuratively speaking, would carry a chip on each shoulder all of the time.

It does not take a lifetime to train a soldier to fight. The American soldiers in the World War, it is admitted, after a training in many cases of but a few months, were able to compete in all respects with the men who had been trained for a lifetime. Compulsory military training in this country means that at all times we would have millions of men under arms. If that is not provided for in the initial bill, it will follow soon afterwards. So the people who are not of military age would to a very great extent be spending all their energies and efforts to pay for the taking care of millions of other men who did nothing but prepare for war. I believe such a law if carried on for several years would change the very nature of most of our citizens. We would become warlike, and when we had become warlike, there would be no doubt but that we would soon be fighting with somebody.

One Vote Less

I have been voting for great appropriations for an increased air force, an increased standing army, and a greater navy. I have voted for amounts so great that, years ago, the very thought of them would have frightened me. I have done it, because of the new methods of recent warfare, the inhuman methods, the dominant methods, the methods which control the four greatest dictator countries on earth. It has all been against my wish and my will, but, faced with these facts, I am compelled, I believe, to favor what I believe to be ample preparation for any emergency that may arise in the future. Feeling as I do and believing as I do, I cannot see my war clear to vote for compulsory military training.

Courtesy of N. Y. Citizen

THE CHURCHES vs. WAR HYSTERIA

By Gordon Brooks

DO America's churches want war?

In these chaotic days, when most of our business leaders, army cliques and numerous politicians of the Dies stripe are whipping up war hysteria—while they sabotage scientific, democratic and efficient defense for their own profit—one wonders how the churches stand on the question of war. Have they gone jingoistic, too, as many of them did in 1917?

Suppose we take a look at the record.

Conscription, latest and hastiest preparation for war, has met with widespread church opposition. In a statement, "Why America Should Not Adopt Conscription," the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a Christian peace organization formed in 1914, with offices in New York City, says, among other thing:

> Any legislation embodying military conscription—such as the Burke-Wadsworth Bill—is a Trojan horse which under the guise of defending our country and equalizing the burdens of defense, would in fact introduce the very disease which has proved so deadly to Europe and against which our democracy would be no more proof than were the democracies of France and England. It is anti-American to the core. If adopted now in fear of the dictatorships of Europe, it would, before ever a hostile ship or aircraft came near our shores undermine by our own hand foundations on which our democratic liberties have rested for 167 years.

The editors of the *Christian Century*, an undenominational weekly, have this to say in their July 24, 1940, issue:

> Summer vacations will be dearly bought if they silence the voice of the churches while peace time conscription passes.

Protestant sects all over the country have spoken out against war. In the same number of the *Christian Century*, under the heading "Minnesota Clergy Insist on Peace," we find:

> Dr. Richard Raines of Hennepin Ave. Methodist Church . . . said: "The very preparation for armed national defense endangers democracy, and the United States must watch out lest we adopt Nazi ideas while we talk about defending democracy."

Methodists in general are strongly anti-war. The Methodist Federation for Social Service, of which Bishop Francis J. McConnell is president, reports in its June bulletin that the General Conference of the new Methodist Church, held in Atlantic City, N. J., from April 2 to May 6, 1940, adopted the following:

> The Methodist Church, although making no attempt to bind the consciences of its individual members, will not officially endorse, support or participate in war. We insist that the agencies of the Church shall not be used in preparation for war, but in the promulgation of peace. We insist that the buildings of the Church dedicated to the worship of God shall be used for that holy purpose and not by any agency for the promotion of war.

The same Federation showed extreme vision when, in its November 1939 issue it warned:

> It is of no more avail to shout "keep out of war" than it was to vote that way in 1916. If the underlying forces are again working as they were then, they will take us in. The first step in getting them under control is to continually explain to the people exactly what is happening.

Lutherans, too, are articulate. The American Guardian, of Feb. 9, 1940, reported that the Rev. John G. Fleck told a Buffalo Lutheran Convention that "Britain and France are not at war to save civilization," but that:

> "The powers-that-be in those countries want control of Europe. They are not interested in democracy in Germany, which is proved by the fact that they supported Hitler until he became a menace to them. . . We are told that democracy is at stake; that the democracies must stand together and wipe out the dictatorships. Yet war itself destroys democracy."

Crusading Protestants demand "Keep America Out of War!" Dr. Daniel A. Poling, writing in the June 1940 issue of the *Christian Herald*, organ of the Evangelical Christian Faith, heads an editorial with those words, and adds further:

> We went into one war to save democracy. We must stay out of this war or we may lose democracy altogether. We must stay out of the war to finish the stupendous task with which we are here engaged. We must stay out of this war to preserve and strengthen democracy for ourselves and others. We must stay out of this war to save ourselves that we may serve others.

The strongest tenet in the churches' opposition to war is the insistence on the protection of individual rights and liberties. The *N. Y. Times* of Aug. 18, 1940 reports Rabbi B. Benedict Glazer of New York in a sermon, thus:

"If we must protect our freedom, let us remember that we are not protecting an abstraction but concrete rights that have been characterized as inalienable by the founding fathers of this Republic. These rights include a guarantee of civil liberties, free speech, free assembly, a free press and freedom of religion."

Jewish church leaders in other sections of the country echo this sentiment—especially in connection with conscription. The *Christian Century* of July 24, 1940, reports:

"The central conference of American rabbis meeting in Chalevoix, Mich., said that they 'had not changed their attitude' in maintaining that the conscientious objector's right to refuse to bear arms 'on religious or humanitarian grounds' is not inconsistent 'with the highest principles of Judaism.' "

Where does the Catholic Church stand on this question? Since there are 20,000,000 American Catholics, the answer is vitally important. Indications are that as many Catholic leaders and laymen as Protestant, in proportion, want peace. An editorial from the *Wanderer* of May 2, 1940, inserted into the Congressional Record at the request of Senator Shipstead of Minnesota says:

An unequivocal plea for American neutrality was made by Cardinal O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, who declared . . . that 'we want no part in this muddle of a row in Europe."

The *New World*, weekly organ of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, in a May 24th editorial entitled "War Drums Beat Again," says:

We have no fifth column except those whose greed and purblind panic would send a million mothers' sons to death . . . hysteria has no place in these days which demand solid thought and action.

The *Christian Century* of July 24, 1940, reports the following from Denver, Colorado:

On a recent Sunday at the Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception Hugh L. McMennamin spoke the vital words to his vast congregation. He said: 'Like many of you I went through the World War. I went up and down this state making inflammatory speeches urging our boys and young men to enlist in a cause which I believed would make the world a better place to live in. Will we be dragged into this war? I do not know, but this I say now—I will not be dragged into it. I recall the contempt I felt for the pacifists and the so-called slackers in the last war. But no matter what contempt is heaped upon the pacifists of today, I shall be of their number.'

Protestants, Catholics, Jews. Yes, the churches too demand peace.

JEWS AGAINST WAR

The greatest lie which the anti-Semite makes use of for his fascist purposes is the one that the Jewish people want war. Yet, numerous sections of Jewish people have expressed their utter abhorrence of war, and countless Jews have taken a lead in peace movements.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America, representing the conservative Rabbis, has declared:

"Judaism historically has renounced war and striven for peace. As teachers of Judaism we disavow war as a method of solving international disputes. We believe that no war is ultimately a righteous war and that the supposititious ideal objectives of wars have generally been a camouflage for economic imperialism. We dread war above all because of its destructiveness and because of the fact that it evokes and confirms the unsocial, bestial aspects of man's character."

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the association of Reform or Liberal Rabbis, has gone on record as saying that:

"We urge upon our fellow citizens and upon those who guide the destinies of our land that, being true to themselves, they adopt an uncompromising opposition to war. We believe that war is morally indefensible."

The Rabbinical Assembly has also gone on record in defense of consientious objectors, to wit:

"We feel that the genuine conscientious objector is doing a great service to humanity in his protest against the perilous assumption that as citizens we must participate in war as a normal part of our civil obligation. No freedom-loving government should trample upon the rights and liberties of one who follows the dictates of his conscience. The treatment of the conscientious objectors by our government in the last world war was most unfortunate . . ."

EDITORIALS

The People Speak

THE American people are awake, wide awake. They have shown it by their tremendous response to the menace of the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill. According to the plans of the Administration, the bill was to be rushed through Congress in a few days, so that there would be no time for an opposition movement to rally for its defeat. But these plans were shattered by an unexpected happening—the rise of a united people's opposition that expressed itself in an avalanche of protest.

But we must not be too optimistic, and we must certainly not relax our vigilance. Conscription will not get in the front way; but every effort is now being made to sneak it in through the back. Chief among these tricks is the Maloney Amendment to the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill—an amendment which must be fought against with the same unyielding grit that met the original measure. The Maloney Amendment would allow for immediate registrations, but would not institute a draft unless after a three-months wait it was found to be "necessary" to do so. A bit of simple mathematics supplies the clue. September, October, November. Three months. After the elections are over and the people's right to vote for someone else is no longer a threat—*then* conscription can be jammed through no matter how loud the opposition may howl.

That, pure and simple, is political maneuvering and deceit of the highest order. Already the press, which was faced with a quandary before the Maloney Amendment was proposed, is jumping on the wagon and editorially offering the public a choice between the original bill and the amended bill. But that is not the real choice! The people of this country have given every indication that they want no conscription, in any form! And they can assure themselves that it will not come to pass by continuing to give their support to those Congressmen who have been fighting against it, and by continuing their powerful protests to those legislators who have hitherto disregarded their expressed will.

A Test of Sincerity

LANGUISHING in the prisons of France, hiding in corners of Poland, milling along highways of all Europe, are several million people for whom life has become a horrible thing. These people abhorred and still abhor fascism; many of them are in prison, or have been made to pay in other ways for that hatred.

The test of a government which claims to be opposed to fascism is its attitude toward these millions of suffering people. There are many organizations in this country which have been formed to carry on rescue work; yet they cannot be more than minutely successful without the assistance of our government. The Emergency Rescue Service, the Exiled Writers Committee and similar groups have been doing excellent work, but time and again they have been forced to admit their inadequacy owing to the seeming unwillingness of our State Department to lend its help.

Mexico has set an example for the United States government to follow. Our neighbor to the South, with far less resources than we possess, has given a haven to thousands of Spanish refugees for over a year; and yet only recently it announced that it is rushing visas to get Franz Werfel and other noted figures out of France, and that it is willing to save as many people as it possibly can from the fascist concentration camps. It made this proposal at the recent Havana Conference. It is to the discredit of our State Department that the proposal was shelved until some nebulous future date.

We can help. We must help. Latin American countries will take refugees if we can lend them enough money to make the process somewhat easier. Providing such aid is the responsibility of our government and of the American people.

Work toward this end is now being carried on by the American Committee to Save Anti-Fascist Refugees, under the chairmanship of Profesor Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia University. The Commitee's address is 200 Fifth Avenue. Any assistance given this organization will go a long way in carrying on its work. To those who cannot afford to contribute the money

that is so necessary, it is at least possible to write to a congressional representative urging that a bill be introduced that would put the issue squarely up to our State Department. Write now—to Secretary Hull, to your Congressman.

Two Roads to War

BEHIND the powerful tide of resentment which has met the conscription drive several persons have cleverly taken advantage of the peace sentiments of the American people. Among these are men like Col. Charles A. Lindbergh.

Lindbergh has become an alleged spokesman for "peace." Yet he does not want peace. He wants appeasement—a working agreement with Nazism, a rapprochement based upon the sacrifice of democratic peoples and democratic institutions, including our own.

The appeasers for whom Col. Lindbergh speaks do not want peace. War with Germany clashes with their interests and sympathies—Col. Lindbergh's, Henry Ford's, and Father Coughlin's are well known—but they do not hesitate to cast eager eyes toward Latin America and toward Canada. They are willing to come to friendly terms with those who have seized control of Europe; but they still shout for a tremendous "defense" program, for conscription, for suppression of civil liberties. Lindbergh, who once pooh-poohed the danger of invasion, nevertheless wants a gigantic armament program. Such news is meaningful to our small neighbors in Latin America.

It is interesting and informative to observe the split in the ranks of those who are drawing our country toward war. Ambassador Cudahy makes millions from selling meat. He is losing markets right and left. Now he is a humanitarian and wants to feed starving Europe—presumably with meat. Our entrance into Europe's war would not be too profitable for him, although it might pay if we were to fight elsewhere. On the other hand, we have only to take a look at our steel magnates, like Stettinius, and we notice that these gentlemen, who are doing quite well with war orders, are not too concerned with peace.

We have appeasers and interventionists—the Fords, Coughlins, Cudahys and Lindberghs on one hand; and the Bullitts, Morgans and Knudsens on the other. Two sides of the same coin. By their contempt for democracy they indicate clearly what they have to offer. They represent the choice between fascism through appeasement or fascism through war.

These two roads to fascism are not the paths which the American people wish to follow. They must be wary, and guard against confusion. They must understand the significance of the fact that their government is following an appeasement policy in China and on the other hand is putting itself behind the statements of war mongers like William C. Bullitt.

There is a way to fight for peace. There are organizations which, like the Emergency Peace Mobilization, fight against both intervention and appeasement. These organizations aim to present a positive program for American democracy. Only through the furtherance of such a program will peace be assured.

The Alien Bill

AS we go to press, the Alien Registration Act goes into effect—the first alien law to be enacted in America since 1798.

The Act plainly contradicts our American traditions of equality and liberty. It was pushed through Congress in an atmosphere of war-time hysteria to become a part of so-called national defense against "fifth columnists." Under this law, the non-citizen has been singled out as an object of discrimination and is to be treated like a criminal. This is an outright imitation of the Nazi persecution of the Jew.

The registration of non-citizens may result in the creation of innumerable dangers to our democracy. These dangers will arise not from the non-citizens, who, by and large, are whole-heartedly devoted to the principles of democracy, but from the operation of the law.

It can be used to regiment the entire American population. It can be used to intimidate large sections of the population because of their foreign birth, to prevent them from joining with their fellow Americans in organizing to defend our rights and our living standards. The age-old principle of "divide and rule," by means of which Hitler destroyed democracy in Germany, can be seen here operating against the best interests of the American people.

THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

By Dr. Charles Obermayer
Official Observer for the Council for Pan-American Democracy at the Conference

THE Havana Conference was initiated and controlled by Washington. The merest tyro could have seen that. Cordell Hull was dramatized into the center of the picture; the press gave him special attention; he dominated the applause. The American press, moreover, was best informed and shrewdly had its headquarters in the Hotel Nacional, where much of the real work of the Conference was done. The Cuban press felt itself pushed into the background; the Press Bureau installed in the august Capitol, where the conference was supposed to be, gave out only short notices.

The incentive exploited in calling the Conference was fear of Germany, a fear more active in the North, than in the South, of the Hemisphere. The argument of power-groups behind the scenes seems to have been: using fear and your credit power, you may be able to frighten South America into buying protection from the big brother up North—and protection is not the only thing the big brother has for sale.

And so Cordell Hull came to Havana with a portfolio full of resolutions which dominated the discussions.

The "economic cooperation" was really the cartel in a new guise. It called for strengthening of the "Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee," and for "The Handling and Orderly Marketing of Accumulative Surpluses."

Mexico Was Alert

The Mexican delegation, led by Eduardo Suarez, smelled danger and repelled it by insisting that no action could be taken except on the basis of the freedom and equality of all countries. "In no case," said Suarez, "and in no way can any state legitimately interfere in the internal and external affairs of another state. . . . Investments must not imply the threat of an imperialist absorption and so be changed into a grave danger for the institutions of any country."

The Argentine delegation, under Leopold Melo, supported this stand, and indicated that the implied cartel was incompatible with the independent existence of the other countries. Melo took exception to formulas—as presented presumably by Hull. "The relations of the American Republics," he said, "have always been based politically upon reciprocal respect and independence. . . . And, economically, on a system of freedom. . . . We must not rush in with untried experiments or attempt premature solutions of problems that might never arise."

This last warning seemed to have special reference to Hull's other main proposal of a "collective trusteeship" over the European possessions in the Americas should the occasion arise. Hull had stressed the urgency of the problem and had indicated that the American Republics must be in a position to move rapidly and without hesitation should Germany and Italy assert title to any European possessions in the Hemisphere.

This question of "trusteeship" seemed to generate as much resistance as that of the cartel. Melo took a strong stand, as revealed in an interview granted to Carlos J. Videla of the *Times*. It was a stand wholly in keeping with the "Declaration of Rights of the Carribean peoples" to self-determination and self-government, drawn up by the West Indies Emergency Committee. Here, in part, is how Videla reports Melo: "Self-determination of peoples continues to be the keystone of our doctrine. Argentina believes that all peoples should be consulted as to the future they want. It opposes the substitution of one regime of European colonies by another of American colonies. To establish a mandate over the present European colonies without consulting them, without giving them the chance of self-determination, amounts to calling these peoples incapable, which is inadmissible." *Melo scored a palpable hit; Hull had developed a formula for trusteeship without mentioning consultation.*

The field was apparently set against Hull's proposals by now, and the press reported it as such. But the main job of jockeying for positions was worked out behind the scenes in Hotel Nacional,

in the offices of delegations, in country homes, and the United States held the economic whip-hand over many of the smaller countries and was strengthening her grip over others. Bolivia, for instance, was drawing away from the Argentinian orbit and was planning to place her most important product, tin, in the hands of the U. S., to be smelted either in Bolivia or the U. S.

In the main, therefore, the U. S. delegation was making good headway, as came out in the end, when she got the required "mandate" with the expressed approval of all the other Latin-American countries. For it is really a U. S. mandate, placed as the colonies are in the main thoroughfare of defense.

Hull's Maneuvering

The success was mainly due to the diplomatic maneuvering of Hull. On his arrival at Havana, for instance, he had said that the affair between Chile and Spain—the recent rupture of diplomatic relations by Chile—should be a matter for the two countries' concern and should not be handled at the Conference. This gesture of the "senior" statesman had its effect. When the matter was brought up by Chile, response was cold. A timid seconding by Ecuador led to an amendment by Brazil (which had just officially, in the name of its army, presented a sword in honor of General Francesco Franco). The final compromise resolution read: "This Conference notwithstanding its cordial sentiments toward Spain, expresses its lively sympathy and fraternal solidarity with the attitude assumed by the Government of Chile. . . . And expresses its hope that the relations between the two states will be reestablished as soon as possible." This was in keeping with the lack of action taken on refugees from Loyalist Spain, a matter conveniently postponed to the Red Cross Conference in December.

Chile felt further pressure. On July 25 the Chilean delegation presented the following resolution: "That the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee study ways and means to facilitate the acquisition by the American Republics of the interests and rights held by extra-continental concerns in various parts of this Hemisphere, especially those having to do with public utilities." This resolution was dynamite, and was treated as such; it was buried.

Since the Conference, we gather, Chile is undergoing further pressure from the Inter-American Committee that controls "economic cooperation." The Committee threatens to withhold credits unless Chile goes into action against its Communists.

The Fifth Column

This brings us to another resolution in the bag of the U. S. delegation: that on Fifth Columns. The United States has taken the position that the Fifth Column is a common danger which must be resisted by all New World countries, and that common action must be taken against them. Brazil resisted this, maintaining that action should be individual on the part of each nation; Argentina supported Brazil. But the final resolution adopted stated that: "The American Republics declare that the fullest interchange of information between them is essential with regard to the aforementioned activities within their respective jurisdictions." As to the aforementioned activities, they are specified above as: "Any activities directed, assisted or abetted by foreign governments, or foreign groups or individuals, which tend to subvert the domestic institutions, or to foment disorder in their internal political life, or to modify by pressure, propaganda, threats, or in any other manner, the free sovereign rights of their peoples to be governed by their existing democratic systems."

It does not take much acumen to see why Brazil and other "democratic" states signed this resolution. The Fifth Column clause has an unexpressed common denominator: labor leaders, "agitators" and Communists. Ruling groups have a clear working definition of what constitutes danger from the left; they are necessarily weak and confused on their definitions of fascism. The pressure on Chile tells the whole story.

The way the Conference was giving lip-service

(*Continued on page* 21)

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ANTI-SEMITISM IN FRANCE

By Walter Freeman

There is No Such Thing As a "Good" Fascism

A SHORT WHILE ago the *Jewish Morning Journal* published a story to the effect that Marshal Petain had given his assurances that there would be no anti-Semitism in France. The story was picked up by a large portion of the Anglo-Jewish press and prominently featured.

Of course, the story was not too well confirmed. To those who know Marshal Petain and the regime he represents, such confirmation would be an impossibility. Yet the story was printed; and it is conceivable that many of those who read it believed it—or were eager to believe it.

How necessary it is to understand facts! Marshal Petain for many years was the secret leader of the *Cagoulards*, a virtual Nazi organization which had plotted for seven years to bring fascism to France. In 1934 the kernel of the plot was discovered, and the revelations which resulted threw the spotlight on some very big names—many of them among France's Two Hundred Families. So startling were the facts that the conspiracy was hushed up and the case allowed to die—which, however, it didn't. It became imbued with new life when the French Government began to prepare for war by suppressing labor unions and crushing those groups which protested against the wanton sacrifice of France's young men. It grew with the war; and it attained its final success with the assumption of power by Petain and his cronies.

The *Cagoulards* were and still are an anti-Semitic organization—although, as elsewhere, the anti-Semitism is merely an instrument used for the purpose of concealing their true aims. In France there was little attempt made to conceal the actual fact: the *Cagoulards* were the "front" for the powerful industrialists who were becoming fearful of the gains which labor had begun to make. We have similar cases in the United States.

That, however, is not all about Petain. He was—and still is—an admirer of the Spanish Fascist General Franco. More than that, he is his personal friend. In a number of statements he has glowingly expressed his approval of Franco's "accomplishments."

But of course it is not only Marshal Petain. There are the other members of the ruling clique—Laval, Baudoin, Marin, Ybarnegaray, Weygand, Bonnet—all of them either fascist or sympathetic to fascism. And, too, the *Croix de Feu*, France's most vicious anti-Semitic organization, has now taken on great power—a process which grew steadily prior to and during the war owing to the help it got from government leaders. As a matter of fact, Jean Ybarnegaray, who now controls the destinies of France's youth, is and was vice-president of the *Croix de Feu*.

So that the lines are quite clearly drawn for anyone to see. From these men no good can come. They have not sought overmuch to conceal their ideas or their future plans. And yet it is amazing that so many people wish to absolve them of what they themselves acknowledge. Such attempts to whitewash fascism serve only one purpose, and that is to stimulate its growth. It is of the same nature as the appeasement policy; and the results of that are now well known. There is no such thing as a "good" fascism. A realization of that fundamental fact might well have saved half of Europe from the plague.

Those Jews who place faith in the "goodness" of fascism are grasping at a weak straw. That in itself is bad enough. But far worse is the great assistance which such policies give to the fascist cause. The example of Fascist Italy provides a revealing example to the Jewish people. Fascism would be in no wit redeemed if it were not anti-Semitic; yet the fact remains that it is. Anti-Semitism is a cardinal point in any fascist program—as is anti-alienism. The terms, as a matter of fact, are used interchangeably among fascists, and anti-alien laws are passed side by side with anti-Semitic laws.

Fascism cannot be fought with appeasement. The sign in a Paris store that last week informed those who passed that no Jews were wanted was but a small expression of what lies in the minds of France's leaders.

HYSTERIA - - FOR WHAT REASON ?

By Hon. Vito Marcantonio

"From the military point of view the United States must be considered as an insular nation. We are separated from potential enemies on the east and west by broad and deep oceans. On our northern and southern borders are nations which have been friendly heretofore. Across these land frontiers could come no armies of sufficient strength to menace our security. Our situation is not similar to that of the British at the present time. Prior to the advent of air power the British Isles were insular countries. This complete insularity is now compromised in the military sense in that they are subject to damaging attack by aircraft based on the continent.

"The armies of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To be a menace they must be transported across the sea in ships. Airplanes on the continents of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To threaten seriously our continental security they must be conveyed across the sea and operated from bases in or near this hemisphere.

"The armed forces of no foreign nation or group of nations can seriously threaten our continental security if we make sure that we command the seas which separate us from all potential enemies."

This statement was not made by those of us who are now opposing conscription. It is found on page 2 of a report issued by the Committee on Naval Affairs of the Senate of the United States on May 15, 1940. This report was the unanimous opinion of the members of the Senate Committee which has made a thorough study of the problem of defense against invasion. Despite the fact that the press and others in authority have seen fit to keep the contents of this report from the American people, no one has yet even attempted to refute the conclusions contained therein. Hence the hysterical argument advanced by the proponents of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill to the effect that we are in danger of successful invasion is not founded in fact, but is a lineal descendent of the war hysteria preparedness propaganda of 1916 and 1917.

A careful analysis of the events which have taken place since the President of the United States forsook the defense of the general welfare of the country for a war armament program demonstrates conclusively that armaments and conscription are not being undertaken for defensive purposes, but constitute preparedness for active participation in an imperialist war from which the American people have nothing to gain and all to lose.

You cannot keep out of war when you become a military reservoir for one side of the belligerents as against the other.

You cannot keep out of war with a war armament budget which will amount to $19,000,000,000 in less than two years.

You cannot keep out of war by forcing the youth of America into a Europeanized military machine.

The President of the United States is himself an authority for these contentions. During the winter of 1936 at Buenos Aires, the President stated that out of his wide experience and historical study, nations which spend heavily on armaments "inevitably face the day when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors, or when an unsound economy like a house of cards will fall apart."

The President himself, on May 16th, informed us that we had the biggest and best Navy in the world.

Hence the conclusion is inescapable. The program is armaments, not for defense, but for war; conscription not for defense, but for war.

The similarity between 1916 and the war preparedness of today is so great that it is shocking and alarming, except that in 1916, no one dared even to suggest conscription.

We are preparing, not for a war in behalf of the American people and their interests, we are not preparing for a war in defense of men and women on W.P.A.; we are not preparing for a war in defense of the men and women in the shops and factories; we are not preparing for a war in defense of the interests of the men on the farms; we are not preparing for a war in defense of the men in the mines and in the mills; but we are preparing for a war to protect the stake of the American dollar in the British pound, and for a possible extension of our imperialism in South and in Central America.

Such a war is not a war of the American people.

Since such a war is not a war of the American people, it is only natural that the American people are overwhelmingly opposed to such a war. Therefore, it has become necessary for those who are conspiring to catapult America into war to destroy the civil rights and liberties of the American people, to substitute Nazi systems for American Institutions. It is precisely because you are opposed to such a war that the war conspirators find it necessary to conscript, to draft, to forcibly take from the home your son, place him in a camp, militarize him, regiment him, knock out of his system every democratic concept which he had learned since childhood and then send him to war.

This and this alone is the scheme of things behind the Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill now pending before the Senate of the United States. The Burke-Wadsworth Bill now provides for the following:

1. Compulsory registration of all males between the ages of 21 and 31.

This feature, passed over lightly by the press, is the heart of the Bill. It would, by requiring all registered persons to carry passports, set up a vast system of Nazi-like control over the lives of the millions of men and their families. It would wipe out at one blow the American way of life for which our forefathers fought.

2. Compulsory military training for a period of 12 months, to be extended indefinitely if the necessity exists.

The young men of America, once registered lose their right to decide their own futures. They could be transferred to the army or navy without their consent for compulsory service up to 10 years. The Bill is drafted so that those registered may be sent to the battlefields for war, at any moment.

3. Contrary to press reports, the Bill contains no constitutional and enforcing provision which requires an employer to re-hire a man after the training period is up. If the Bill were to pass, thousands of men would lose their means of support, with no right to return to work afterwards.

4. The President is empowered to use his judgment as to the number of men to be conscripted. Thus he is given unlimited power over the lives of millions of families. Treatment of married men is left to the judgment of the President and no part of the Bill exempts them from service.

5. Once conscripted, a man has no choice of the branch of service to which he may be assigned. He can be sent to army, navy or CCC "occupational groups" by arbitrary decision.

6. The bill provides $30 a month pay, and makes no provision for the millions of families whose lives will be disrupted by the reduction in income. Leases, mortgages, debts, even starvation and urgent needs are ignored in the arbitrary wage.

7. Constitutional rights to fair trial would be eliminated for millions of citizens by the Bill, which calls for trial by court-martial of violations of the act. The Nazi rule of firing squad would be substituted for the American system of trial by jury.

8. The call to active training can be made by a proclamation of the President. No written notice to enrollees is required. Failure to appear can be tried in military courts as a military offense.

An amendment has been proposed to charge a fine of $10,000 or a prison term of 5 years to any person who in speech or writing opposes conscription once the bill is passed. This provision would bring all the terror of Nazism to our land, allowing the round up and arrest of millions opposed to war.

All this in the name of a false national defense.

We destroy democracy under the guise of protecting it. How much of our freedom which we seek to defend will be left in America after the enactment of this bill. It seems to me that we cannot consistently speak of going to war to defend freedom if we must begin by destroying it with our own hands, and we do this how?

First, by setting up a terrific armament program and indulging in a military extravaganza for war.

Second, we destroy civil rights and freedom of the American people by the arousing of war hysteria and ruthless suppression of all individuals and groups that have dared raise their voice against us.

Third, by segregating and finger printing three million five hundred thousand non-citizens in America.

Fourth, by converting our F.B.I. into a gestapo, and

Fifth, by conscripting the Youth of our nation.

Armaments, conscription, war and dictatorship. That is the path along which those who sit in the seats of the mighty of our nation are leading us. The American people alone can stop it. The same spirit that guided us in 1776 and in 1860 is now awakening throughout the land. Millions of messages are pouring in on the Congress of the United States against this swift juggernaut propelling us into war and dictatorship.

This blitzkreig against the peace and freedom of America must be stopped and it will be stopped.

I am happy to announce that people from all walks of life, labor, farm, youth, cooperative fraternal, business, regardless of race, color or creed are sending their representatives to Chicago on August 31st, September 1st and September 2nd, to unite to defend America by keeping America out of war and by keeping America a free and democratic nation.

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On Photography

By Carl Bakal

There is shooting on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe it is done with guns and cannon; here it is of a more pleasant nature—our vast army of snapshooters "shoots" only with cameras.

It was probably the introduction here of the Leica camera from Germany some 15 years ago which gave photography in America the impetus which has enabled it to achieve here the great popularity it has today. Paradoxically, it is the vastly dissimilar current situation in Germany which may account for still a greater and more widespread interest in photography here.

It may be recalled that before the first World War Germany was the center of the world's dye industry. Having to either seek or establish a new source of supply during that war, America went on to establish its own supremacy in this field.

Now a similar situation is present in the photographic industry, and latest indications show that America will likewise go on to set up a formerly lacking self-sufficiency in the production of fine cameras and lenses.

At any rate, the situation here is a healthy one. Most everyone owns some sort of picture-taking device, be it only a box camera. And, daily, hundreds of people are awakening to the possibilities of a camera, not only as a medium of documentation but also as a means of self-expression. Photography is being introduced as a necessary part of the school curriculum. Schools devoted to the teaching of photography are springing up, and the more progressive retail stores are helping foster an interest in this so-called 20th century art by giving free lectures and demonstrations.

Pictured above is a scene taken during one of Karl Barleben's lecture-demonstrations on photography at FOTOSHOP, 18 E. 42nd St., New York City, one of America's more progressive retail stores.

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HAVANA CONFERENCE

(*Continued from page* 16)

to democracy, national independence and the memory of great liberators, like Bolivar and Marti, whereas behind the scenes the economic squeeze-play was being put on, is nowhere more apparent than in the difference in temper between the Declaration of Principles of the "Act of Havana," concerning the provisional administration of European colonies and possessions in the America, and the legal "convention" that gives all the machinery for their administration. The Declaration tells us that "As soon as the reasons requiring this measure shall cease to exist, such territories shall in accordance with the principle reaffirmed by this Declaration, that peoples of this continent have the right freely to determine their own destinies, be organized as autonomous states." The Convention, however, tells us: "That the administration or trusteeship shall be authorized for a period of three years, at the termination of which, and in the case of necessity, it shall be renewed for successive periods of not longer than a decade." No machinery is provided for consulting the

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colonies concerned. The whole argument is based on the need for defense, reiterated again and again.

It is just this question of defense that brings the whole Havana Conference into focus. Who is defending what against whom? The Cuban people have organized a magnificent labor movement of 500,000 out of a population of four million to defend their standards of living. They are very consciously fighting Wall Street, which owns three-quarters of Cuba now. Chile needs to defend its workers from groups like the Guggenheims. Argentina, in which Great Britain has almost two billion dollars invested (she has one billion in Brazil), is beginning to play her own economic-control game. Bolivia, economically weak, seems to be pulled into the United States orbit. Mexico has her hands full trying to hold Almazan and United States power-groups at bay. Hull, it is worth noting, sent that country an ultimatum a couple of months ago. The Carribean, soon to be studded probably with naval bases, is surrounded by small countries who know only too well how the Wall Street ripples are spreading over them. Germany is obviously not the only enemy against which the Latin-Americas need to defend themselves.

What is needed urgently is a peoples' conference, where the peo-

(*Continued on following page*)

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ple of this Hemisphere will speak openly—not behind closed doors or in country homes; where they will give more than lip-service to democracy—a word much exploited but never once defined at the Havana Conference; where they will help to establish the simple fact, clouded at Havana, that the best defense is to strengthen democracy, and not to weaken it as was done in France and is being done in the United States.

And behind all the maneuverings at Havana and the apparent success of Wall Street diplomacy, there were enough contradictions present and enough popular pressure expressed in the positions taken by Mexico, Chile, Argentina, and particularly in that of the President-elect of Cuba, Col. Batista, to give pause to the onrush of imperialism and courage to the people. Nor is the European picture so dismal as those who frighten us with defense cries would make us believe. A world war unchains more forces than the rival ruling groups want to have running loose. And a continuing war economy does not make the lion-tamers any stronger.

All this was also apparent at Havana.

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